

## Beaglehole—Ethnology of Pukapuka

13

- 161 Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available.
- 163 These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

162 The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

|          | NGAKE |    | LOTO |    | YATO |    | ISLAND TOTAL |     |
|----------|-------|----|------|----|------|----|--------------|-----|
|          | M     | F  | M    | F  | M    | F  | M            | F   |
| Adults   | 84    | 80 | 54   | 67 | 61   | 48 | 199          | 195 |
|          | 164   |    | 121  |    | 109  |    | 394          |     |
| Children | 101   |    | 64   |    | 73   |    | 238          |     |
| Totals   | 265   |    | 185  |    | 182  |    | 632          |     |

- [62] These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*tau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane* or *wakawawine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

|        | Adults | Adolescents | Total Adults | Children | Total |
|--------|--------|-------------|--------------|----------|-------|
| Male   | 88     | 18          | 106          | 77       | 183   |
| Female | 93     | 11          | 104          | 61       | 165   |
|        |        |             |              |          | 348   |

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

*Brief Pukapukan Case History.*

137

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and capable. She was one of our best informants, and her honesty is unquestioned.

## LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently with this couple from the time when my adopted mother weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they treated me differently from my adopted parents. They seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now very definitely how they treated me but I must have been gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other children commented to me on the way I was going to my blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy to see them.

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly. This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not so concerned for their children and let them get on with their companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and continued so until the death of my adopted mother which occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time. After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my mother. I remember this. I with other children stood

*Brief Pukapukan Case History.*

143

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another<sup>159</sup>  
house. 593

After we had been married for some time Ono told me<sup>159</sup>  
to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my<sup>333</sup>  
mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after  
two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl,  
Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night<sup>159</sup>  
without exception right up to the time that labor pains set<sup>845</sup>  
in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and  
until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms,  
holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My  
milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for<sup>334</sup>  
a month after the delivery until the blood and water had  
dried up before having intercourse again. The second child,<sup>159</sup>  
a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I<sup>165</sup>  
cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a  
boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon  
after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after<sup>159</sup>  
this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did<sup>593</sup>  
many other men. They thought that I would make a good<sup>587</sup>  
wife for them because I had so many children. I did not  
like the way the men came to the house at night because I  
thought the children would wake and see us together. When  
Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted  
someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son  
by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children  
and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are  
living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me.  
He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good  
fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have  
now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them.  
That is why you always see him playing with them if he is  
home when you come to our house.